

When Diversity Training Isn't Enough: The Case for Inclusive Leadership



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Abstract

The current study investigates the effectiveness of mentoring and diversity training. We investigated the possibility that mentoring and diversity training improved individuals' personal accountability toward diverse groups, beliefs in the value of diversity, perceptions of cohesion and perceptions of work group effectiveness. We found that although mentoring and diversity training both predicted all four outcome variables, justice and inclusion were more effective in facilitating those positive workplace outcomes. Data from the DEOMI Diversity Management Climate Survey (N = 2,339) support our hypotheses. When participants' perceptions of justice and inclusion were added to the regression equation, mentoring and diversity training become nearly insignificant. The implications of this are discussed from a diversity management perspective.

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When Diversity Training Isn't Enough: The Case for Inclusive Leadership

Scientists predict that diversity in the workplace will increase substantially in the next century, including an increase in women, minorities, and intergenerational workers (Langdon, McMenamin, & Krolik, 2002). In fact, according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2004), the percentage of White Americans has declined every decade since 1940, and White Americans will become the minority by 2050. At the same time, Latino and Asian Americans are expected to triple by 2050. Additionally, in 2008, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009) reported that 24.1 million workers in the U.S. labor force (15.6%) were foreign born.

The increase in diversity in the United States has prompted a need to better understand how diversity and subsequent diversity management efforts affect organizational outcomes. Organizations are beginning to realize that effective management of a diverse workforce will impact their competitiveness in the coming decades. However, as Richard, Murthi, and Ismail (2007) point out, even scholars are mixed on the outcome of increased diversity, with one camp espousing the belief that diversity leads to positive organizational outcomes such as increased performance and creativity, while the other camp believes diversity leads to increased conflict and decreased cohesion.

Indeed, research over the past several decades has often been contradictory. On the positive side, researchers have shown that diversity leads to increased creativity (De Dreu & West, 2001), problem solving (Watson, Kumar, & Michaelsen, 1993), performance (Ely, Padavic, & Thomas, 2012), and even better recruitment results (Avery, Hernandez, & Hebl, 2004). On the other hand, some research shows that diversity can have negative effects on organizational outcomes such as less attraction and trust in peers (Chatopadhyah, 1999), decreased communication (Zenger & Lawrence, 1989), and lower commitment to their group

(Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992). Furthermore, demographic diversity (e.g., sex, gender, and age) has been associated with increased turnover, increased conflict, decreased social integration, and an inhibition of decision-making processes (Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1998).

Given the dichotomous nature of diversity in predicting organizational outcomes, it becomes clear that diversity should be carefully managed so that organizations can avoid the negative outcomes and facilitate the positive outcomes. Cox and Blake (1991) suggest that effective management of diversity could benefit organizations by reducing costs associated with low job satisfaction and the high turnover that often comes with unfair treatment. Furthermore, they suggest that effective diversity management could increase an organization's ability to successfully recruit and retain diverse employees, which will help those organizations market to diverse consumers. Finally, they argue that managing diversity should facilitate positive organizational outcomes such as increasing creativity and problem-solving ability.

Organizations have employed a variety of techniques to manage diversity, including target recruitment initiatives, education and training, and career development and mentoring programs (Morrison, 1992). But what actually works? In the current study, we argue that although mentoring and diversity training can have beneficial effects for individuals and for organizations, a more system-wide approach to improve the diversity climate will have a bigger impact for both individuals and organizations. First, we discuss how mentoring and diversity training affect organizational outcomes. Next, we discuss the importance of organizations going beyond traditional diversity-related programs to increase perceptions of justice and inclusion.

Mentoring

Mentoring programs are one strategy that organizations use to manage diversity. Indeed, organizations are increasingly relying on mentoring programs. In fact, up to two-thirds of employees have reportedly engaged in a mentoring relationship (Ragins & Scandura, 1994). Recently, several researchers have developed models that practitioners could use to develop mentoring programs for workplace minorities. For example, models have been suggested for mentoring individuals with disabilities (Daughry, Gibson, & Abels, 2009), sexual minorities (Russell & Horne, 2009), women (Williams-Nickelson, 2009), and students of color (Alvarez, Blume, Cervantes, & Thomas, 2009). But do those mentoring programs facilitate positive results for individuals and organizations? Although research detailing the effectiveness of mentoring programs for minorities is scant, there is a fairly large body of research that has investigated the overall effectiveness of mentoring programs for individuals and organizations.

Although most mentoring relationships are informal (e.g., develop naturally) many organizations have established formal mentoring programs that match mentors with protégés (Wanberg, Kammeyer-Mueller, & Marchese, 2006). An informal mentoring relationship develops over time without external (e.g., organizational) intervention. On the other hand, formal mentoring relationships are led by organizational initiatives that match a mentor with a protégé with the clear expectation that they will be involved in training, discussion, and goal setting (Egan & Song, 2008).

Despite the popularity of formal mentoring programs, only recently have researchers begun to better investigate the impact of mentoring for mentors, protégés, and organizations (e.g., Ragins, Cotton, & Miller, 2000; Allen & Eby, 2003). It is likely that the effects of the mentoring program depend on different aspects of the program. The research appears to be

somewhat mixed. Some studies have found a positive relationship between mentoring programs and performance (e.g., Day & Allen, 2004; Tenenbaum, Crosby, & Gliner, 2001). However, a number of studies have also not been able to establish a connection between mentoring programs and performance (e.g., Green & Bauer, 1995; Scandura & Schriesheim, 1994). Despite the conflicting research on the link between mentoring programs and performance, there is some research that suggests mentoring can have beneficial outcomes. Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz, and Lima (2004) conducted a meta-analysis and found that protégés are paid more, are promoted more often, and are more positive about their careers than those individuals who have not been mentored.

It is likely that organizational involvement in a mentoring program affects the benefits of the mentoring program. Organizations that set up the program with little thought may expect to reap the rewards of the program, yet may be destined to fail. Indeed, a body of research suggests that an organization must be involved in the mentoring program in order for that program to be effective. To clarify the relationship between mentoring and performance, Tonidandel, Avery, & Phillips (2007) investigated the role of mentor success and length of mentoring relationship on performance. Not surprisingly, they found that increased mentoring is only helpful to the protégé's performance if the mentor is competent. They also found that protégés that formed longer mentoring relationships were more successful. This indicates a need for organizations to closely monitor their mentoring relationships and only choose strong mentors.

Similarly, Egan and Song (2008) found that benefits of mentoring programs may depend on the level of third-party facilitation. They found that high-level-facilitation (e.g., organizations that are strongly involved in strengthening the mentoring relationship between mentor and protégé) are more beneficial than low-level-facilitation (e.g., organizations that do not provide

support beyond the initial mentor-protégé matching). Protégés in the high-level-facilitation group had higher job satisfaction, organizational commitment, person-organization fit, and performance than those in the low-level-facilitation group. This indicates that an organization must actively work with the mentoring program in order to realize the rewards of the program.

Training

A second strategy that organizations can use to manage diversity is mandatory or voluntary diversity training. Paluck (2006) points out that although the majority of U.S. employers use diversity training, research over the past 30 years is unclear on the actual benefits of diversity training for employees. Diversity training itself runs the gamut from instructional methods (e.g., supplying information and raising awareness) to experiential methods (e.g., a personalized and participatory approach). Although diversity trainers often collect data on trainees' reactions to the training (e.g., Holladay, Knight, Paige, & Quinones, 2003; Holladay & Quinones, 2008), for the most part, diversity training effectiveness in changing actual behavior goes largely unmeasured (Larkey, 1996; Morris, Romero, & Tan, 1996). For example, Madera, Neal and Dawson (2011) investigated the role of an empathy-focused diversity training program. While they found that an empathy approach in diversity program positively affected attitudes toward non-English speaking individuals, they did not assess the effects of the training on the non-English speaking individuals nor on the organization.

There are two known recent exceptions to the trend in ignoring the organizational outcomes of diversity training. Sanchez and Medkik (2004) found that participants who went through an awareness-based training diversity program were actually more likely to engage in differential treatment toward non-White individuals. The authors conducted post-analysis interviews with several of the trainees and found that many resented their inclusion in the

training. Furthermore, they believed that their assignment to the training was a punishment due to complaints from their non-White colleagues. The authors concluded that the resentment may have led to the differential treatment of non-White individuals.

A second study (King, Dawson, Kravitz, & Gulick, 2012) investigated the impact of diversity training on discrimination and job satisfaction. Their research on over 395 separate health care organizations in England found that diversity training did decrease instances of discrimination. Furthermore, they found that the negative consequences of discrimination (e.g., decreased job satisfaction) depended on the prevalence of discrimination in an organization. In other words, organizations that have lower levels of discrimination will result in higher job satisfaction for ethnic minorities. *Vis-à-vis*, diversity training should increase employee job satisfaction by decreasing discrimination.

Although mentoring and diversity training are an important first step in managing diversity for organizations, we believe that the true benefits of a diverse workforce will only be fully realized when organizations go beyond those initial steps. Fostering an organizational climate of trust and inclusion should benefit all members of an organization and may assuage any potential cynicism or backlash that some studies show result from mandatory diversity initiatives (e.g., Sanchez & Medkik, 2004).

Organizational Justice

Organizational justice is a term that is used to describe an individual's assessment of the fairness in treatment that he or she receives from an organization (James, 1993). A three-dimensional conceptualization of organizational justice has emerged in the literature (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001). Distributive justice refers to one's assessment of the fairness in the allocation of resources or outcomes in an organization (Cropanzano, Bowen, and

Gilliland, 2007). Distributive justice emerged from equity theory (Adams, 1965), which posits that employees' sense of equity or inequity is based on a social comparison with other employees. An employee expects to receive similar compensation as another employee whom he or she believes has contributed equally. When distributive justice is high, employees understand that not everyone in the organization is treated alike, but rather the most deserving employees (e.g., those who work the hardest) are rewarded more than other employees.

The second dimension of organizational justice is called interactional justice. Interactional justice refers to the interpersonal treatment that subordinates receive from management. Bies and Moag (1986) identified four rules for interpersonal behavior: truthfulness, justification, respect, and propriety. Shapiro, Buttner, & Barry (1994) further broadened the definition of interactional justice by suggesting that timeliness, specificity, and reasonableness were important. Greenberg (1993) suggested that interactional justice is actually composed of two dimensions: interpersonal and informational justice. The interpersonal aspect includes respect and propriety in relationships, while the informational aspect includes timeliness, specificity, and reasonableness (Bies & Moag, 1986). According to this theory, employees are likely to perceive their organization as high in interactional justice when communication between supervisors and subordinates is timely and respectful.

The third and perhaps most studied, dimension of organizational justice is called procedural justice, and it describes the process by which valued resources or rewards are allocated (DeConinck & Johnson, 2009). Research shows that policies and procedures are believed to be fair if they are applied consistently over time and people (van den Bos, Vermunt, & Wilke, 1996), if they are applied accurately (De Cremer, 2004), and when they provide an opportunity for employees to have a voice in the decision making process (Thibaut & Walker,

1975). According to Leventhal (1976; 1980), there are several important aspects of procedural justice. A process is just if it is applied consistently to all employees without bias, if it is accurate, if it is representative of the relevant stakeholders, if it is correctable, and if it is consistent with ethical norms.

A rich body of research indicates that perceptions of organizational justice have myriad outcomes for employees. Procedural justice has been positively related to employees' self-perceived status in the organization (Smith, Tyler, Huo, Ortiz, & Lind, 1998; Tyler, 1989; Tyler & Blader, 2002). Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) has been related to both interactional justice (Skarlicki & Latham, 1996) and procedural justice (Colquitt et al., 2001). Simons and Roberson (2003) found an indirect relationship between interpersonal justice and commitment (Konovsky & Cropanzano, 1991), and distributive justice and procedural justice have both been related to employee perceptions of organizational identification (Walumbwa, Cropanzano, & Hartnell, 2009).

Inclusion

Although many managers may believe that diversity will bring organizational benefits (e.g., increased performance), it is well established that diversity itself does not produce the valued results for organizations (Roberson, 2005; van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Instead, diverse employees and their experiences and perspectives must be effectively integrated into an organization for those gains in organizational effectiveness to be realized (Stewart, Crary, & Humberd, 2008). This concept of *inclusion* is a result of a growing call for a broader set of initiatives that emphasize the removal of barriers that prohibit employees from full participation in their organization (Wentling & Palma-Rivas, 2000) and engendering a climate of inclusion for all employees (Mehta, 2000). What exactly is inclusion? Shore, Randel, Chung, Dean, Ehrhart,

and Singh (2001) define inclusion as “the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the work group through experiencing treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness (p. 1265).” In other words, an inclusive organization removes barriers that may disrupt employees from using all of their skills so that those employees can fully contribute to the organization (Roberson, 2005).

Shore et al., (2001) proposed a model for better understanding inclusion for organizations. They suggest that employee uniqueness and belonging are critical aspects for inclusion for employees, and that varying levels of each will have significant impacts on organizational outcomes. For example, when an organization engenders a high sense of belonging and places a high value on employee uniqueness, individuals will have a strong sense of inclusion. Conversely, when organizations project a low sense of belonging and low value on employee uniqueness, individuals will feel excluded. They argue that employees are more likely to increase their performance when they are included, while feelings of exclusion can lead to negative workplace consequences (e.g., negative work attitudes) for employees.

In fact, research has shown that inclusion in various organizational information networks and decision-making processes has several positive organizational outcomes. For example, inclusion in organizational information networks has been linked to better job opportunities and career advancement (Ibarra, 1993; Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998). More recently, Mor Barak and Levin (2002) found that higher levels of inclusion were related to increased job satisfaction and a higher sense of well-being. This may be especially important for those employees that have traditionally been excluded from such organizational networks (Mor Barak and Levin, 2002). Indeed, Mor Barak and Cherin (1998) found that members of racial and ethnic minority groups were more likely to feel excluded in an organization.

As Shore and colleagues (2001) suggested, it is reasonable to expect that if inclusion can have positive effects for employees, that exclusion would have negative effects for employees. Indeed, there is a great deal of research that suggests exclusion has a number of negative implications for both individuals and organizations. Mor Barak and Cherin (1998) found that if employees feel excluded, they are more likely to leave an organization. Furthermore, if they do stay in their organization, they may feel that they are not working to their full potential. Exclusion has been related to lower job satisfaction and psychological well-being (Mor Barak & Levin, 2002). Hitlan, Clifton, and DeSoto (2006) found that gender may play a role in the relationship between exclusion and workplace outcomes. They found that the negative effects of exclusion (e.g., decreased job satisfaction and psychological health) were stronger for men than for women when the level of exclusion was high. Exclusion from information also has a negative effect for individuals. Those who feel out-of-the-loop may experience decreased mood, decreased perceptions of competence, less liking of other group members, and decreased participation in group tasks (Jones, Carter-Sowell, Kelly, & Williams, 2009).

Although researchers have started to investigate the impact of inclusion (or exclusion) on organizational outcomes, it is unknown how employee perceptions of inclusion affect employee perceptions of cohesion and performance. Furthermore, it is unclear how managing diversity by fostering a sense of inclusion or justice might interact with other diversity initiatives. For example, while mentoring programs and diversity training are often used to help employees realize the value of diversity, it is possible that fostering a sense of inclusion or justice may facilitate the benefits of those programs for all employees. Given the history of the ambiguous relationship between work group diversity and performance, we believe it is important to better understand how perceptions of inclusion and justice interact with mentoring and diversity

training in predicting valued outcomes of a diversity initiative.

In the current study, we investigate the role of mentoring, training, justice, and inclusion on both individual and organizational outcomes. At the individual level, most diversity management initiatives are meant to foster an increase in awareness for individual employees. Therefore, we believe that mentoring, diversity training, justice and inclusion will all predict higher levels of individuals understanding the benefits of diversity and their own personal commitment to engage in fair treatment of diverse populations. Specifically we predict that:

Hypothesis 1: Mentoring and diversity training will both predict personal accountability; however, perceptions of justice and of inclusion will be stronger predictors of personal accountability.

Hypothesis 2: Mentoring and diversity training will both predict an understanding of the benefits of diversity; however, perceptions of justice and of inclusion will be stronger predictors of understanding the benefits of diversity.

We are also interested in better understanding the role of mentoring, training, justice, and inclusion on organizational outcomes. Two organizational constructs that are often investigated are cohesion and performance. We believe that mentoring, diversity training, justice, and inclusion will all predict higher levels of cohesion and performance. Specifically, we predict:

Hypothesis 3: Mentoring and diversity training will both predict perceptions of cohesion; however, perceptions of justice and of inclusion will be stronger predictors of cohesion.

Hypothesis 4: Mentoring and diversity training will both predict perceptions of work group effectiveness; however, perceptions of justice and of inclusion will be stronger predictors of work group effectiveness.

Methods

Participants and Procedures

In spring 2012, data were collected using the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute Diversity Management Climate Survey (DDMCS). A total of 2,339 respondents completed the survey. The majority of the respondents were men (82%) between 22-30 years old (39%). Most respondents were White (81%). Most respondents (85%) had not been deployed in the last six months or had never deployed. Approximately 8% were currently deployed.

Predictor Variables

We used four variables as predictor variables. Each predictor variable used the same 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = “Strongly Agree”; 5 = “Strongly Disagree”). Participants rated their agreement for each item of the four predictor variables. Appendix A lists each of the questionnaire items associated with each predictor variable. *Mentoring* was measured using a three-item measure ($\alpha = .92$). *Diversity training* was measured with a six-item measure ($\alpha = .81$). Six items measured perceptions of *justice* ($\alpha = .93$), and nine items measured perceptions of *inclusion* ($\alpha = .93$).

Outcome Variables

We also used four variables as outcome variables. Each outcome variable used the same 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = “Strongly Agree”; 5 = “Strongly Disagree”). Participants rated their agreement for each item of the four outcome variables. Appendix B lists each of the questionnaire items associated with each outcome variable. *Diversity benefits* was measured using four items ($\alpha = .87$). *Personal accountability* was measured with a six-item measure ($\alpha = .90$). Four items measured perceptions of *workgroup cohesion* ($\alpha = .94$), and four items measured perceptions of *workgroup effectiveness* ($\alpha = .93$).

Results

To test Hypothesis 1, we conducted a stepwise regression analysis. In the first step, we entered mentoring and diversity training as predictors and personal accountability as the criterion. Both mentoring and diversity training were significant predictors of personal accountability and accounted for 20% of the variance (see Table 1). In the second step, we added justice and inclusion as predictors of personal accountability. As Table 1 shows, both mentoring and diversity training decrease in strength. Inclusion was the strongest predictor of personal accountability, but diversity training was still stronger than perceptions of justice. The second model accounted for 42% of the variance in personal accountability, which was an increase of 22% over the first model. Therefore, Hypothesis 1 was partially supported.

To test Hypothesis 2, we conducted a stepwise regression analysis. In the first step, we entered mentoring and diversity training as predictors and perceived diversity benefits as the criterion. Both mentoring and diversity training were significant predictors of perceived diversity benefits, but they only accounted for 12% of the variance (see Table 2). In the second step, we added justice and inclusion as predictors of perceived diversity benefits. As Table 2 shows, both mentoring and diversity training decrease in strength. Again, inclusion was the strongest predictor of personal accountability, but diversity training was still stronger than perceptions of justice. The second model accounted for 28% of the variance in perceptions of diversity benefits, which was an increase of 16% over the first model. Therefore, Hypothesis 2 was partially supported.

To test Hypothesis 3 we conducted a stepwise regression analysis. In the first step, we entered mentoring and diversity training as predictors and cohesion as the criterion. Both mentoring and diversity training were significant predictors of cohesion, and they accounted for

17% of the variance (see Table 3). In the second step, we added justice and inclusion as predictors of cohesion. As Table 3 shows, both mentoring and diversity training decrease in strength. In fact, in the second model, mentoring is not a significant predictor of cohesion. Unlike the previous two analyses, justice and inclusion were the strongest predictors of cohesion. The second model accounted for 50% of the variance in cohesion, which was an increase of 33% over the first model. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 was supported.

To test Hypothesis 4, we conducted a stepwise regression analysis. In the first step, we entered mentoring and diversity training as predictors and work group effectiveness as the criterion. Both mentoring and diversity training were significant predictors of work group effectiveness and accounted for 13% of the variance (see Table 4). In the second step, we added justice and inclusion as predictors of work group effectiveness. As Table 4 shows, both mentoring and diversity training decrease in strength. In fact, in the second model, mentoring is not a significant predictor of cohesion. Similar to our results for cohesion, justice and inclusion were the strongest predictors of work group effectiveness. The second model accounted for 46% of the variance in work group effectiveness, which was an increase of 33% over the first model. Therefore, Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Exploratory Analysis

Our analysis indicates that perceptions of inclusion account for the majority of the variance in our regression equations. Therefore, we decided to further investigate the role of inclusion in predicting personal accountability, perceptions of the benefits of diversity, cohesion, and work group effectiveness. Specifically, we want to know if there were differences between White individuals and non-White individuals in terms of how their feelings of inclusion affected our outcome variables.

Inclusion and Personal Accountability

We used a Univariate Analysis to test the possibility that race and inclusion interact in predicting personal accountability. There was a significant interaction between race and inclusion ($F(1, 2335) = 10.58$) in predicting personal accountability (see Figure 1). A follow-up ANOVA indicated that while there was no difference between White individuals and non-White individuals when perceptions of inclusion were high, non-White individuals ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 1.09$) reported significantly lower levels of personal accountability when perceptions of inclusion were low than did White individuals ($M = 2.07$, $SD = .70$, $F(3, 2335) = 221.77$, $p < .00$).

Inclusion and Perceptions of Benefits of Diversity

We used a Univariate Analysis to test the possibility that race and inclusion interact in predicting perceptions of the benefits of diversity. Although there was a significant interaction between race and inclusion ($F(1, 2335) = 7.48$) in predicting perceptions of the benefits of diversity (see Figure 2), a follow-up ANOVA indicated that there was no difference between White individuals and non-White individuals for the high inclusion or the low inclusion groups.

Inclusion and Cohesion

We used a Univariate Analysis to test the possibility that race and inclusion interact in predicting cohesion. There was a significant interaction between race and inclusion ($F(1, 2335) = 7.07$) in predicting cohesion (see Figure 3). A follow-up ANOVA indicated that while there was no difference between White individuals and non-White individuals when perceptions of inclusion were high, non-White individuals ($M = 2.58$, $SD = 1.23$) reported significantly lower levels of cohesion when perceptions of inclusion were low than did White individuals ($M = 2.22$, $SD = .93$, $F(3, 2335) = 259.65$, $p < .00$).

Inclusion and Work Group Effectiveness

We used a Univariate Analysis to test the possibility that race and inclusion interact in predicting work group effectiveness. There was a significant interaction between race and inclusion ($F(1, 2335) = 11.60$) in predicting work group effectiveness (see Figure 4). A follow-up ANOVA indicated that while there was no difference between White individuals and non-White individuals when perceptions of inclusion were high, non-White individuals ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.23$) reported significantly lower levels of work group effectiveness when perceptions of inclusion were low than did White individuals ($M = 2.09$, $SD = .89$, $F(3, 2335) = 236.57$, $p < .00$).

Discussion

The first goal of the current study was to investigate the effects of two traditionally employed diversity management strategies (mentoring and diversity training) on individual level variables of personal accountability (e.g., respect for others and valuing diversity) and their perceptions of the benefits of diversity as well as the organizational-level variables of cohesion and work group performance. The good news for organizations and for diversity training programs is that mentoring and diversity training both had positive effects for employees. Mentoring and diversity training both led to higher personal accountability, a better understanding of the benefits of diversity, higher levels of cohesion, and stronger work group effectiveness.

The bad news for organizations and for diversity training programs is that the effects of those programs might depend on how organizations embrace managing diversity in other ways. We found that perceptions of justice and inclusion were more important for predicting those positive outcomes. As Mor Barak and Levin (2002) point out, the effects of exclusion in an

organization are probably more dire for groups that are traditionally excluded. In fact, our research shows that exclusion does differentially affect non-White individuals. Our exploratory analysis shows that when perceptions of inclusion are high, there are no differences between White employees and non-White employees for personal accountability, perceptions of the benefits of diversity, and work group effectiveness. However, when perceptions of inclusion are low, there are significant differences between White and non-White individuals for all of our outcome variables. This suggests that inclusion benefits all employees regardless of their race. However, as Mor Barak and Levin suggested, exclusion is more detrimental to non-White individuals than to White individuals.

Our findings have several practical implications for organizations. First of all, our research shows that although it is beneficial for organizations to conduct diversity training and establish mentoring programs, to truly realize the value of diversity, organizations must go beyond those initial steps. It isn't enough for an organization to conduct annual diversity training and expect to reap the rewards of increased diversity. Instead, organizations must make a concerted effort to ensure that all employees feel included in their organization. Furthermore, that effort shouldn't start at the bottom, but rather should be aimed at middle-management. As our inclusion variable indicates, inclusive leadership is an important aspect of inclusion. Fostering a feeling of inclusion doesn't start at the bottom, but rather with supervisors and organizational leaders. We are not suggesting that organizations should not continue to offer diversity training and mentoring programs to employees. Indeed, we believe that organizations should take a two-pronged approach to managing diversity. First, all employees should receive diversity training, as our research shows that there are benefits of diversity training. Second, supervisors and managers should receive inclusion training.

Second, our research shows that inclusion is important for all employees, regardless of their ethnicity or race. One problem with traditional diversity training programs is that they sometimes cause backlash toward minorities (Sanchez & Medkik, 2004). Two ideologies have dominated the way in which organizations manage diversity: multiculturalism and color blindness (Park & Judd, 2005; Plaut, 2010). The color-blind approach emphasizes that everyone is basically the same and that racial categories should be ignored. This approach further suggests that different social identities should be ignored and everyone should be assimilated into one category. In other words, we shouldn't acknowledge that people have different skin color, ages, sexual orientations, abilities, etc. Instead, we should see everyone as having the same basic elements, without regard to demographic differences (Plaut, Garnett, Buferd, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011). Research has clearly shown that the color-blind approach to diversity is not an effective strategy for diversity management. Research shows that minority members may find such initiatives as disingenuous because they claim a concern for equality while they do little to pursue equality (Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davis, Dittmann, & Crosby, 2008). In fact, research shows that the color-blind approach has been shown to lead to stronger racial bias and interpersonal discrimination among White individuals (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004).

In contrast, the multicultural approach emphasizes that everyone is slightly different, but that those differences come together to form a whole picture. Multiculturalism does not attempt to ignore demographic differences, but instead acknowledges those differences with the understanding that those differences should be valued and celebrated (Plaut et al., 2011). Research has demonstrated that the multicultural approach may have a number of advantages over the color-blind approach. White individuals who espouse multiculturalism generally have a

greater acceptance of others (Verkuyten, 2005). Additionally, multiculturalism has been related to a number of positive effects for non-White individuals, including greater psychological engagement (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009), creativity (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, and Chiu, 2008), and increased employment status (Konrad & Linnehan, 1995). However, one problem with the multicultural model is that White individuals may feel excluded. In fact, research shows that White individuals may view multiculturalism as a threat or a source of anxiety (Verkuyten, 2005). This threat causes many White individuals to favor color-blind approaches to diversity management over the multicultural approach (Markus, Steele, & Steele, 2000).

This provides a conundrum for organizations. White individuals favor the color-blind approach to diversity management, yet research shows that such initiatives may actually have a detrimental effect, particularly for minority members. Plaut et al. (2011) suggested that increasing feelings of inclusion for White individuals might be difficult when organizations engage in multiculturalism initiatives. However, they argue that the success of diversity management initiatives rests on an organization's ability to increase feelings of inclusion for all employees in an organization, particularly for White employees. Furthermore, they argue that if White individuals feel included in the multiculturalism of an organization, they are less likely to resist diversity and diversity initiatives. The results of the current research clearly show the importance of inclusion for both individuals and organizations. A multiculturalism approach to diversity management has clear benefits for minority members over the color-blind approach. Given the results of the current study, we believe that organizations should ensure the inclusion of all organizational members when they implement a multicultural approach to diversity management.

Limitations and Future Direction

Although the current study is important for understanding how organizations can better manage diversity, there are a number of limitations that should be addressed by future research. First, we did not investigate how diversity itself affected cohesion or work group performance. Although there are a number of ways to categorize diversity, we chose to focus instead on how organizational efforts to manage diversity affected individuals within their organizations. It is possible that those efforts differentially affect minorities in organizations. However, the premise of the current study is that inclusion can be beneficial for all employees and may actually be a way to counter any negative backlash that some employees may experience. Indeed, organizational efforts to increase perceptions of inclusion should benefit all organizational members and may be a better way to manage diversity than the traditional awareness training, which tends to alienate organizational members. To address this limitation, we did conduct a number of exploratory analyses to see if there were any differences in the effects of our predictor variables on personal accountability, perceptions of the benefits of diversity, cohesion, and work group performance for minority participants. Those analyses did not show any systematic differences between men and women or between Black and White participants. That suggests that increasing perceptions of inclusion can have benefits for all employees, regardless of their minority or majority status.

Second, the current research uses individual perceptions of cohesion and work group performance, which are group-level variables. Unfortunately, we were unable to aggregate data in the current study to the group level due to the unavailability of that information. Although we believe that individual assessment of cohesion and work group performance is valuable, future research should attempt to measure group perceptions of cohesion and performance.

Third, the current study does not inform on how organizations can improve perceptions of inclusion. In the best case scenario, organizations could structure their diversity training to emphasize the importance of inclusion. However, it is likely that increasing employee perceptions of inclusion goes well beyond the confines of diversity training. In fact, we believe that organizations must engender a *climate* of inclusion that permeates all levels of the organization. Although the current study does not specifically address the question of how organizations can increase perceptions of inclusion, our inclusion measure seems to indicate that a great deal of that responsibility may lie with individuals' immediate supervisors. As Howell and Hall-Merenda (1999) pointed out, leaders who engage in Leader Member Exchange (LMX) behaviors establish high-quality or low-quality relationships with their subordinates. It is likely that those employees who have high-quality relationships with their supervisors feel more included in their organization, while those that have low-quality relationships are more likely to feel excluded in their organization. However, Nishii and Mayer (2009) suggest that the differentiation in the relationships that leaders establish with their subordinates can be problematic. Differentiation may cause feelings of exclusion, which could be problematic, particularly for minority group members. Future research should investigate how LMX leadership behaviors lead to feelings of inclusion or exclusion and how that affects individual and organizational variables.

Finally, the current study is limited in the types of outcomes for individuals and organizations. Although we investigated how mentoring, diversity training, justice, and perceptions of inclusion affect the cohesion and work group effectiveness, we are unsure how those variables affect individual job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and well-being. Future research could easily include those variables to develop a deeper understanding of the

benefits for organizations that effectively manage diversity.

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Appendix A

Mentoring ($\alpha = .92$)

Item

In my organization, I have access to a mentoring program.

I know who my mentor is.

My mentor and I have established specific goals for me to work towards.

Diversity Training ($\alpha = .81$)

Item

I seek out diversity education and training during my own time.

I have attended a Service-sponsored session or workshop on diversity within the past year.

I have attended a training session or workshop on diversity outside of my Service within the past year.

Past training and education efforts regarding diversity in my organization have been effective.

I am scheduled to attend a diversity training session within the year.

Leaders in my organization promote and encourage diversity education opportunities.

Justice ($\alpha = .86$)

Item

I have received the necessary assignments to compete for promotions.

My performance evaluation is a fair reflection of my contributions to the organization.

In my organization, I am treated with respect.

In my organization, promotions are NOT based on favoritism.

I am well informed about career enhancement opportunities (e.g., education, assignments).

Inclusion ($\alpha = .93$)

Item

My immediate supervisor encourages individuals with different backgrounds, talents, training, work styles, and personalities to work together.

I am made aware of important changes in the organization.

My immediate supervisor makes good use of my skills and abilities.

My immediate supervisor listens to my ideas.

When I send emails to my immediate supervisor, I usually receive a reply.

My immediate supervisor offers an environment in which I feel comfortable to share my ideas.

My immediate supervisor takes into account my skills or other attributes when assigning tasks.

Most of the time, I know which projects my co-workers are working on.

My co-workers openly share relevant work information with me.

Appendix B

Diversity Benefits ($\alpha = .87$)

Item

Diverse viewpoints add to mission accomplishments.

A workforce with different backgrounds and approaches leads to the creation of better processes and routines.

An environment of mutual respect and integrity enhances critical thinking.

Diverse skill sets add to mission readiness.

Personal Accountability ($\alpha = .90$)

Item

I seek first to understand others before trying to be understood.

I am proactive when dealing with people.

I make myself aware of the value of others within my unit.

I engage others who are different from me.

I engage others when conducting our military operations.

I encourage the respect of others in the workplace.

Work Group Cohesion ($\alpha = .94$)

Item

My work group works well together as a team.

Members of my work group pull together to get the job done.

Members of my work group really care about each other.

Members of my work group trust each other.

Perceived Work Group Effectiveness ($\alpha = .91$)

Item

The amount of output of my work group is very high.

The quality of output of my work group is very high.

When high priority work arises, such as short deadlines or schedule changes, the people in my work group do an outstanding job in handling these situations.

My work group's performance in comparison to similar work groups is very high.

Appendix C

Table 1.

Predicting Personal Accountability

| Personal Accountability | | | |
|-------------------------|---------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | β | Adjusted R ² | ΔR^2 |
| <i>Step 1</i> | | .20 | |
| Mentoring | .14* | | |
| Diversity Training | .37* | | |
| <i>Step 2</i> | | .42 | .22 |
| Mentoring | -.04* | | |
| Diversity Training | .19* | | |
| Justice | .16* | | |
| Inclusion | .44* | | |

Table 2.

Predicting Perceived Benefits of Diversity

| Perceived Diversity Benefits | | | |
|------------------------------|---------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | β | Adjusted R ² | ΔR^2 |
| <i>Step 1</i> | | .12 | |
| Mentoring | .10* | | |
| Diversity Training | .29* | | |
| <i>Step 2</i> | | .28 | .16 |
| Mentoring | -.04* | | |
| Diversity Training | .14* | | |
| Justice | .05* | | |
| Inclusion | .43* | | |

Table 3.

Predicting Cohesion

| Cohesion | | | |
|--------------------|---------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | β | Adjusted R ² | ΔR^2 |
| <i>Step 1</i> | | .17 | |
| Mentoring | .21* | | |
| Diversity Training | .27* | | |
| <i>Step 2</i> | | .50 | .33 |
| Mentoring | -.02 | | |
| Diversity Training | .06* | | |
| Justice | .22* | | |
| Inclusion | .51* | | |

Table 4.

Predicting Work Group Effectiveness

| Work Group Effectiveness | | | |
|--------------------------|---------|-------------------------|--------------|
| | β | Adjusted R ² | ΔR^2 |
| <i>Step 1</i> | | .13 | |
| Mentoring | .18* | | |
| Diversity Training | .25* | | |
| <i>Step 2</i> | | .46 | .33 |
| Mentoring | -.06* | | |
| Diversity Training | .04* | | |
| Justice | .24* | | |
| Inclusion | .49* | | |

Appendix D

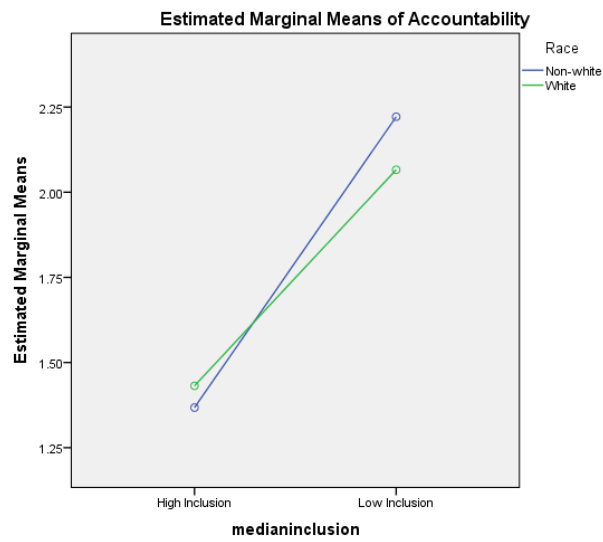


Figure 1: Interaction between Inclusion and Race in Predicting Cohesion

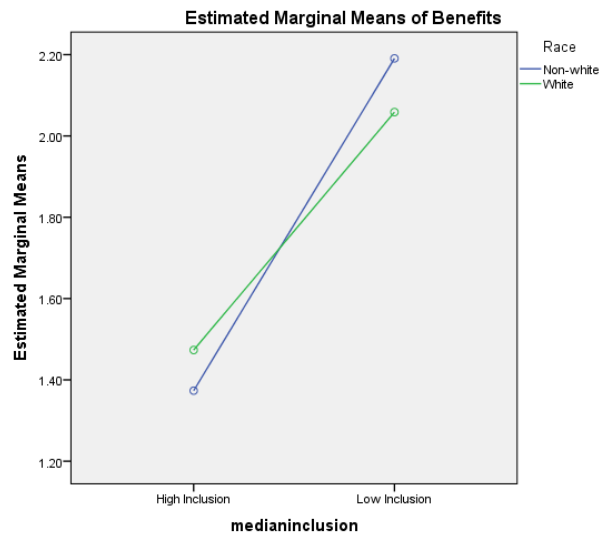


Figure 2: Interaction between Inclusion and Race in Predicting Perceptions of the Benefits of Diversity

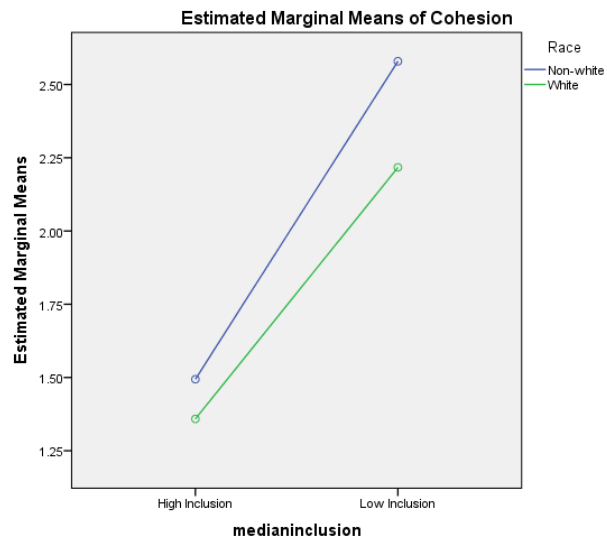


Figure 3: Interaction between Inclusion and Race in Predicting Cohesion

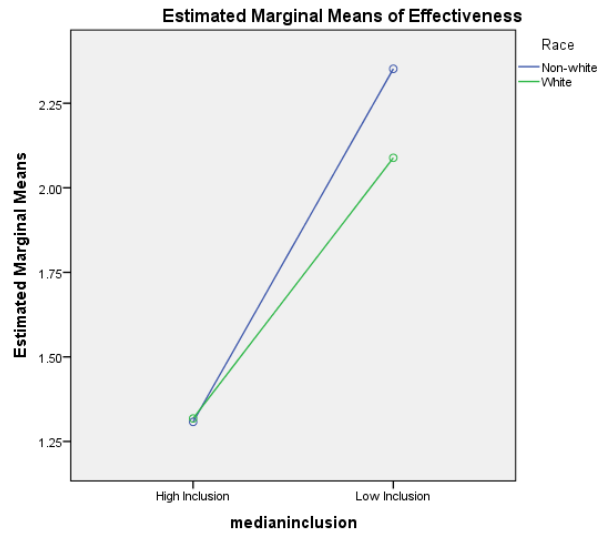


Figure 4: Interaction between Inclusive Leadership and Race in Predicting Work Group Effectiveness